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ABSTRACT

Subjects read discussion group transcripts and evaluated the performance of group members, the group leader, and the group as a whole. Discussants' names were varied to represent male or female leadership and all-male, all-female or half-and-half group membership. The data supported two of the three coping strategies postulated as alternatives to attitude change, namely isolation and degradation. The only factor which reliably affected ratings of group performance was the sex of the chairperson. Female-led groups were evaluated more favorably than the same groups when they were led by males. (EN)

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IS FEMALE LEADERSHIP PERCEIVED AS A DISADVANTAGE?

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Subjects read discussion group transcripts and evaluated the performance of the group members, the group leader, and the group as a whole. Discussants' names were varied to represent male or female leadership and all male, all female, or half male/half female group membership. There were no sex-contingent differences in the evaluations of individuals. However, female-led groups were evaluated more favorably than male-led groups.

Author's Note

This study explored possible sex bias in performance evaluations. While this study may be interesting in its own right, it is only one part of a series of studies which address a broader issue: The integration of minorities into majority group settings. The results of any individual study may be more fully appreciated when considered within the larger framework. Hence, the introduction presents the theoretical framework underlying the series of studies. In addition, all of the studies are briefly summarized in the paper. Of course, special emphasis is placed on the sex bias in performance evaluation study in the methods section.

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

Minorities are legally defined in terms of disadvantaged social

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exchange positions rather than in terms of actual numbers. That is, a group may be considered a minority even if it has more members than a majority group provided the minority group members are disadvantaged in social exchanges (e.g., employment, housing, credit availability, etc.) on the basis of group membership. Discrimination of this type may result from the belief that minorities are inferior to majority-group members in some way. Such beliefs may originate from societal norms, such as male superiority and white supremacy, which have survived in the American culture for centuries despite repeated attempts to reverse such norms. Furthermore, these lingering beliefs that minority group members are inferior to majority group members may interfere with the smooth and successful integration of minorities into majority-dominated groups.

The entry of minority group members into majority-dominated groups may be dissonant with the cognition that minorities are inferior. For example, the entry of women into traditionally masculine occupations is dissonant or incompatible with the constellation of attitudes concerning male superiority. For, if females are indeed inferior to males, then females should be incapable of succeeding in occupational roles considered appropriate primarily for males. Such incompatibility between cognitions may create tensions (Festinger, 1957) which, in turn, may interfere with the smooth transition of women into traditionally masculine occupations.

There are several strategies that persons might use to cope with the discrepancies between male superiority and females entering male-dominated occupational areas. These coping strategies include: 1) attitude change, 2) derogation, 3) isolation, and 4) degradation. Attitude change implies abandoning the notion of male superiority. Derogation refers to devaluing the performance of females by selectively attending to the negative aspects

of their performance while ignoring or deemphasizing the favorable aspects. Isolation refers to the overevaluation of a specific female in comparison to other females when she successfully performs in a traditionally masculine occupation. Degradation refers to the reduction in status and social desirability that occurs to a traditionally masculine occupation when too many females succeed in that occupation. Only the first of these coping strategies, attitude change, results in the full realization of the intent of the civil rights legislation. The remaining coping strategies (derogation, isolation, and degradation) allow one to cope with the entry of females into traditionally masculine occupations without acknowledging equality of the sexes.

The Coping Strategies

Attitude Change

Attitude change implies abandoning the notion of male superiority and acknowledging that females are equal to males. If females were perceived as truly equal to males, there would be no basis for treating females differentially on the basis of their sex. Such a shift in attitudes would necessarily result in the full realization of the intent of the civil rights legislation with regard to women. Unfortunately, there may be considerable resistance to this type of attitude change.

One of the factors which may produce resistance to attitude change may be the rigid enforcement of civil rights laws. Festinger and Carlsmith's (1959) work suggests that when behavior is changed in response to external pressure, the greater the pressure, the less attitude change will result. Analagously, one might expect that legal coercion to admit females into traditionally masculine occupations may result in little or no attitude change regarding the appropriateness of females in such occupations.

Another factor which contributes to the resistance to attitude change is the ego involvement of persons with the attitude. The more important an attitude is in supporting an individual's identity, the less attitude shift that person will make when an external agent attempts to influence that attitude (Eagly, 1967; Snyder, Mischel & Lott, 1960; Fine, 1957; Kelley and Volkart, 1952). The ego or identity of both males and females may be supported by attitudes regarding male superiority. The male as the "provider and protector" and the female as the "wife and mother" suffice as examples of identities dependent on attitudes of male superiority (O'Leary, 1974). The more dependent one's own identity on the attitude, the less attitude change will result when the attitude is challenged.

The amount of resistance contributed by ego involvement in an attitude may be mediated by a third factor which Eagly (1967) calls the "direction of the discrepancy." Eagly proposes that a shift in an ego-involving attitude may result in either a more favorable or a less favorable attitude toward oneself. If acceptance of discrepant information results in a less favorable attitude toward oneself there may be greater resistance to attitude change. If the attitudes regarding male superiority were abandoned, males would have to acknowledge competition for their superior status while females would rightfully aspire to equal status. Consequently, the direction of the discrepancy would be negative for males and positive for females. Hence, females might be expected to resist attitude change to the extent that their identity is supported by attitudes regarding male superiority. However, the resistance to change, might be less for females than for males since the direction of the discrepancy is positive for females but negative for males. Attitude change, then, may be difficult to achieve. Instead, one of the alternative coping strategies (derogation, isolation, or

degradation) may be more prevalent.

Derogation

Derogation requires no attitude change at all. The attitudes of male superiority may remain intact. Instead, the performance of the female may be devalued or misperceived via selective attention. Observers may spend more time watching the female intruder in order to catch more mistakes than might otherwise be observed. Another way in which performance might be distorted is by overemphasis of minor errors and underemphasis on the more positive aspects of females' performance. Such derogation is most feasible when the performance criteria are subjective or abstract. Ambiguous criteria of this nature are common in managerial positions or in research and development departments. The important issue is that if performance can be derogated, one may cope with the discrepancies deriving from the entry of women into traditionally masculine occupations without acknowledging equality of the sexes.

Goldberg (1968) provides some evidence for the existence of performance derogation. In his study, Goldberg asked female subjects to rate the quality of articles on various topics which were identified as written by either a male or a female author. Although the articles were identical, the subjects rated the articles attributed to the male authors significantly higher than they rated the same articles attributed to female authors. This significantly higher rating for the male authors was observed even when the articles were on traditionally feminine topics such as elementary school teaching or dietetics.

Pheterson, Kiesler and Goldberg (1971) replicated Goldberg's study with a seemingly important modification. They had female subjects evaluate paintings attributed to either male or female artists. However, the

ambiguity of performance was also varied in this study. Half of the subjects were told that the paintings were "entries" in a contest (high ambiguity). The remainder of the subjects were told that the paintings were "award winners" (low ambiguity). Female subjects judged the "entry" paintings attributed to male artists significantly higher than the identical paintings which were attributed to female artists. In contrast, when the ambiguity of performance was reduced by describing the paintings as "award winners," there was no difference in the ratings of quality and content of the paintings or of the technical competence of the artists. It appears that performance derogation may occur without the rater's awareness and is most likely to occur if the performance criteria are ambiguous or subjective.

Isolation

Isolation is the overevaluation of a particular female relative to other females when she succeeds in a traditionally masculine area. For example, if a male and a female perform equally well on identical tasks, and if the female is perceived as more accomplished relative to the average female while the male is perceived as less accomplished relative to the average male, then isolation has occurred. For, if a succeeding female is perceived as more accomplished than a succeeding male (each relative to the average member of their sex group), it implies that fewer women than men are perceived as capable of succeeding in that occupation or, more precisely, that this female is not a "typical" female.

Isolation, as a coping strategy, requires only slight modification of attitudes concerning male superiority. One must merely acknowledge "exceptions to the rule." Adequate performance on tasks with objective performance criteria or exceptional performance on tasks with ambiguous

performance criteria may be difficult to derogate. In such situations, it might be simpler to alter one's perception of the female rather than one's perception of her performance. The successful female may be identified as an exception to the rule -- different from the majority of women -- perhaps as "superwoman." The attitudes of male superiority may remain stable despite the inclusion of exceptions.

Previous research has not emphasized isolation defined in this manner. However, a study conducted by Staines, Tauris, and Jayaratre (1973) may provide some indirect support for this hypothesized coping strategy. Staines, Tauris, and Jayaratre observed and identified the "Queen Bee Syndrome" among women who had achieved high status positions and yet tended to evaluate other women negatively. The Queen Bee considers her own position as inappropriate for other lesser women and acknowledges herself as an exception to a valid rule (i.e., male superiority).

Degradation

Degradation refers to the loss of prestige and social desirability that an occupation may suffer as the proportion of females in the occupation increases. If there are too many exceptions to the rule and too many women manifest satisfactory performance in traditionally masculine occupations, degradation of the position may result instead of changes in the constellation of attitudes regarding male superiority. In other words, attitudes regarding male superiority may be maintained at the expense of attitudes toward the occupation. For example, there is some evidence which suggests that the mass entry of women into traditionally masculine occupations may have an adverse effect on the perceived status of those occupations (Touhey, 1974).

Touhey prepared information sheets for five occupations rated highly

in occupational prestige. These information sheets conformed to the descriptions of occupations compiled in the 1972-73 edition of the Occupational Outlook Handbook (U.S. Department of Labor, 1973). Touhey varied only the last section of the entries, which depicts the current proportion of the sexes represented in the area and directions for future trends. In this section, it was predicted that there would be either sharp increases (e.g., "women will comprise the majority of scientists in 25 to 30 years") or no change (e.g., "the proportion of women will remain stable at 8%") in the number of women expected in the field. Subjects were asked to read one of the description sheets and rate the prestige and social desirability of the occupation. The data supported Touhey's hypothesis that the prestige and social desirability of the occupation decrease when increased proportions of females are anticipated in the occupation.

Touhey's work may be criticised on two grounds. First, the extreme figures used in the experimental condition may have prompted the responses of his subjects. Second, the lower ratings of occupational prestige might not have been due to anticipated changes in the number of women in the field. Ferber and Loeb, 1971, 1973) have observed that females are paid less than males even when productivity in similar positions is not significantly different. If females are paid less, then increasing the number of women in an occupation will result in a decrease in the average salary for the occupation as a whole. Thus, the subjects in Touhey's study may have been responding to an anticipated decrease in the average salary rather than simply to the anticipated proportion of women in the field.

Touhey's study was a valuable first step, but it left an important question unanswered. Specifically, it may be important to investigate a situation in which the outcomes are identical for males

and for females to determine if decreases in prestige occur as a function of the number of women in the area or as a function of the consequences of increasing the number of women. If males and females receive identical outcomes for participation in a group, and if the prestige and social desirability of the group still decreases as a function of the number of women in the group, then this would argue against the "consequences" hypothesis and for the hypothesis that social perceptions are affected directly by the proportion of females in the occupation.

A series of studies was designed to test the existence of the alternate coping strategies (derogation, isolation, and degradation). This paper is particularly concerned with the study examining derogation or the devaluing of females' performance in traditionally masculine tasks with abstract and subjective performance criteria.

METHOD

Derogation Study

Subjects

Subjects were 108 male and 108 female introductory psychology students drawn from the subject pool at a large unviersity.

Instruments

The instrument used in this study was a transcript of a committee meeting. A group of ten introductory psychology students met for one hour to discuss the need for a Mechanics department outside the Engineering department at a large university. With the permission of these students, the meeting was tape recorded and later transcribed. The only portions of the transcripts that were altered were the names of the discussants to attribute performance to either males or females. Group membership was represented an equal number of times as all male, all female, or half male

and half female. Group leadership was attributed to a male in half of the cases and to a female in the remainder.

Procedure

Subjects were told that this study was designed to test the reliability of peer ratings or the extent to which students agree with one another in their evaluations of fellow students. Subjects were also told that since the transcripts were rather long and since ten people participated in the committee discussion, they would not have to evaluate all of the committee members. Rather, they would only have to evaluate the performance of a) one committee member, b) the chairperson, and c) the group as a whole. Subjects were assured that although they were evaluating only one committee member, different students were evaluating different committee members and eventually each committee member would be evaluated by twelve different people. Finally, the subjects were reminded that there were no right or wrong answers. Rather, the evaluations were to reflect their own personal opinions on how well the individual or the group performed.

Data Analysis

Six male and six female subjects (raters) evaluate each of the nine committee members. One level of performance was associated with each committee member. With sex of committee members (ratees), these factors yield a 2x9x2 factorial design.

All subjects (raters) evaluated either a male or a female chairperson. With sex composition of group, these factors yield a 2x2x3 factorial design. In addition, all subjects evaluated either an all male, an all female, or a half male/half female group. With sex of chairperson, these factors yield a 2x3x2 factorial design.

Since multiple criteria were taken, a multivariate analysis of

variance was used to analyze the data. Wilks Lambda, using Rao's approximation, was the criterion for significance.

Isolation Study

Subjects

The sample for this study was comprised of 180 male and 180 female volunteers from the general population. Subjects ranged in age from 18 to 87 and reflected a wide variety of ethnic and socio-economic backgrounds.

Instruments

Biographical descriptions of hypothetical incumbents of nine traditionally masculine occupations were constructed for use in this study. These descriptions contained information on the education, training, scholastic achievements, work-related achievements, and current employment of the incumbents. Descriptions for male and female incumbents in each of the occupations were identical except for the names and possessive adjectives. All of the descriptions depicted the incumbents as successful in their field.

Procedure

A booth was set up in the middle of a large shopping center mall. Large signs reading "Occupational Research Survey" were prominently displayed. When people approached the booth, they were asked if they would like to fill out a survey being conducted in partial fulfillment of course requirements If they consented to the request, they were given one of the description sheets. Respondents were then asked to read the description paragraph and evaluate the academic and occupational accomplishments of the incumbent.

Data Analysis

Male and female respondents evaluated the accomplishments of male and female incumbents of nine different traditionally masculine occupations.

Together these factors yield a 2x2x9 factorial design.

Degradation Study

Subjects

Subjects were 78 male and 78 female introductory psychology students at a large university. All introductory psychology students at this university are required to participate in outside research for three hours. Although no grades are assigned on the quality of participation, participation is mandatory for completion of the course requirements. Thus the outcomes for participation in a research project are identical for males and for females.

Procedure

Subjects were told that one of the psychologists in the department was interested in studying the dynamics of group processes. In order to approximate real life situations, this researcher was studying committees of students working on student-related problems. Subjects were told that there were vacancies in some of the committees and that the questionnaire they were receiving was for the purpose of recruiting subjects to fill the vacancies. Subjects were reminded that they could complete their research requirement by participation in one of the committees but that their decision to participate in this particular study was entirely at their own discretion. Thus, subjects believed that the questionnaire was a selection device rather than a part of the study. (Later questioning of the subjects revealed that this assumption was correct.)

A description of one of the committees which purportedly had a vacancy was read by the subjects. Descriptions were identical except for the names of the committee members and the name of the previous chairperson. (It was explicitly stated that a new chairperson would be selected for this school

term.) Subjects were then asked to decide whether 1) they would like to be a member of the committee and 2) they would like to be chairperson of the committee. A composite score, derived by summing the responses to the two questions, was used as a measure of group desirability.

Data Analysis

Committee membership was all male, all female, or half male/half female. The previous chairperson was either male or female. With sex of the subject, these factors yield a 2x3x2 factorial design.

RESULTS

Derogation Study

Table 1 presents the summary of MANOVA results for the evaluations the committee members' performance. From the table it appears that the only factor which reliably affected the evaluations of the committee members was the performance associated with the different positions or roles in the transcripts. In other words, actual performance was the only factor which appears to have reliably influenced evaluations of performance. In addition, all the univariate F tests for the criterion variables were significant (see Table 2). This denotes that each criterion variable, taken separately, reliably predicts experimental condition group membership.

Two linear combinations of criterion variables were significant for explaining the performance (P) effect as reflected in Table 2. The first linear combination is strongly represented by the first criterion variable (talkative). The correlation between this first criterion variable and the first linear composite is .951. The sixth criterion variable (overall evaluation) and the second criterion variable (informative) are moderately represented in the first linear combination with correlations of .638 and .543, respectively. The remainder of the criterion variables (problem-

Table 1

Summary of MANOVA Results

Evaluation of Committee Members' Performance

Source	Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	p less than
Sex of Rater	1 through 1	1.032	6.00	175.00	0.406
Sex of Ratee	1 through 1	1.466	6.00	175.00	0.192
Performance	1 through 6	3.[illegible]4	48.00	865.14	0.001
	2 through 6	[illegible].494	35.00	827.78	0.034
Rater x Ratee	1 through 1	1.643	6.00	175.00	0.138
Rater x Performance	1 through 6	.893	48.00	865.14	0.68
Ratee x Performance	1 through 6	.983	48.00	865.14	0.508
Rater x Ratee x Performance	1 through 6	1.056	48.00	865.14	0.372

Table 2

Test of P (Performance)

Criterion Variables	Univariate F Scores			Correlation Between Variables and Composite Scores	
	F(8, 180)	Mean Sq	P Less Than	First Root	Second Root
Talkative	13.302	31.157	0.001	0.951	-0.032
Informative	6.273	20.199	0.001	0.543	+0.622
Problem-Finder	4.083	13.647	0.001	0.354	+0.574
Perspectivist	3.114	11.362	0.003	0.373	+0.388
Problem-Solver	4.220	16.845	0.001	0.392	+0.703
Overall Rating	8.176	26.074	0 001	0.638	+0.641

solver, perspectivist, and problem-finder) were only modestly related with correlations of .392, .373, and .354, respectively. As expected, all of the criterion variables correlate positively with this linear composite.

The second linear combination explaining variance in performance reflects a more even contribution of the criterion variables to the composite. The single exception is the first criterion variable (talkative) which contributes near zero to the second linear composite. Again, all of the criterion variables (with the exception of talkative) are correlated positively with this linear composite.

Table 3 presents the summary of MANOVA results for the evaluations of the committee chairpersons. From the table it appears that there were no significant differences in the evaluations of the chairpersons' performance for any of the main effects or interactions. Since only one level of performance was represented in the chairperson factor, these nonsignificant findings imply that once again, actual performance was the only factor which appears to have influenced evaluations of performance. Hence, this study provides no evidence for sex bias in evaluations of individual performance--contradicting the findings of previous researchers who had reported sex-contingent differences in evaluations.

Table 4 presents the summary of MANOVA results for the evaluations of the group as a whole. Interestingly, the only factor which reliably affects evaluations of group performance is the sex of the chairperson. Table 5 presents the univariate F tests and the correlations between the criterion variables and the composite scores for the sex of chairperson effect. One linear combination of the criterion variables was significant for explaining variance in the sex of chairperson effect. In descending order of contribution to this linear composite were the third criterion (overall evaluation), the second criterion (problem-solver), and the first criterion (problem-

Table 3

Summary of MANOVA Results

Evaluations of Chairpersons' Performance

Source	Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	p Less Than
Sex of Subject	1 through 1	0.755	6.0	199	.606
Sex of Chairperson	1 through 1	0.386	6.0	199	.887
Sex Comp. of Group	1 through 2	1.029	12.0	398	.421
Subject x Chairperson	1 through 1	0.918	6.0	199	.483
Subject x Group	1 through 2	0.606	12.0	398	.837
Chairperson x Group	1 through 2	1.006	12.0	398	.442
Subject x Chair x Group	1 through 2	0.508	12.0	398	.910

Table 4

Summary of MANOVA Results

Evaluations of Group Performance

Source	Test of Roots	F	DFHYP	DFERR	p Less Than
Sex of Subject	1 through 1	0.830	3.0	202	.479
Sex of Chairperson	1 through 1	3.506	3.0	202	.016
Sex Comp. of Group	1 through 2	0.882	6.0	404	.508
Subject x Chairperson	1 through 1	0.697	3.0	202	.555
Subject x Group	1 through 2	0.841	6.0	404	.539
Chairperson x Group	1 through 2	0.761	6.0	404	.601
Subject x Chair x Group	1 through 2	1.660	6.0	404	.129

Table 5

Test of C (Sex of Chairperson)

Criterion Variables	Univariate F Scores			Correlation Between Variables and Composite Scores
	F(1, 204)	Mean Sq	P Less Than	First Root
Problem-Finder	0.473	1.338	0.493	0.209
Problem-Solver	1.489	5.671	0.224	0.371
Overall Rating	3.685	15.574	0.056	0.583

finder) with correlations of .583, .371, and .209, respectively. In addition, only one univariate F test was significant. That is, when taken separately, only the third criterion variable (overall evaluation) reliably predicts experimental condition group membership.

Table 6 may be of greater interest to the less statistically inclined. This table presents the cell means and standard deviations for the sex of chairperson effect in the evaluations of group performance. As Table 6 reflects, the female-led groups were evaluated more favorably than the male-led groups on each of the three criterion variables. Since there were no significant differences in the individual ratings of the committee members or the committee chairpersons, one may speculate that the subjects may have perceived the female-led groups as somehow disadvantaged by the female leadership and hence deserving of more favorable evaluations. (If the group performed that well with a female leader, imagine how well they might have done with a real leader.) Thus female chairpersons may have been devalued or derogated indirectly, if not directly.

Isolation Study

Table 7 presents the summary of ANOVA results. As expected, occupation reliably affected the ratings of accomplishment for the incumbents. A wide variety of occupations was selected for inclusion in the study. And one might expect that a neurosurgeon or a dentist would be evaluated as more accomplished than a construction worker or a high school principal.

The only other factor which reliably affected ratings of accomplishment was the sex of the incumbent. Specifically, both males and females rated female incumbents of traditionally masculine occupations as more accomplished (relative to the average member of their sex) than were male incumbents in the same occupations. (Tables 8 and 9 present the cell means

Table 6

Evaluations of Group Performance

Sex of Chairperson Main Effect

Cell Means and Standard Deviations

Performance Criteria	Sex of Chairperson: Male	Female
Problem Finder	$\bar{X}$=6.880 SD=1.598	$\bar{X}$=7.139 SD=1.746
Problem Solver	$\bar{X}$=5.806 SD=1.729	$\bar{X}$=6.463 SD=2.130
Overall Evaluation	$\bar{X}$=5.981 SD=1.881	$\bar{X}$=6.852 SD=2.203

Table 7

Summary of ANOVA Results

Isolation Study

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Subject	.10	1	.10	.15
Occupation	25.15	8	3.14	4.69**
Sex of Incumbent	4.40	1	4.40	6.66**
Subject X Occupation	6.25	8	.78	1.16
Subject X Incumbent	.80	1	.80	1.19
Occupation X Incumbent	6.05	8	.76	1.13
Subject X Occupation X Incumbent	8.85	8	1.11	1.66
Within Cell	216.80	324	.669	
Total	268.40	359		

**Significant at p = .01

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviations for Occupations

Occupation	Mean	Standard Deviation
Dentist	1.70	.64
Neurosurgeon	1.87	.68
Assistant Sales Manager for Car Dealership	1.88	.71
Vice President of a Bank	1.95	.67
Sports Writer for the Detroit News	2.00	.67
Police Officer (with three citations)	2.05	.80
Construction Worker	2.15	1.05
Chemical Engineer	2.40	.94
Principal of a High School	2.60	1.09

(Ratings were made on a 5 point scale. The lower the rating, the more favorable it is.)

Table 9

Means and Standard Deviations for Sex of Incumbent

Incumbents	Raters	Male	Female	Combined
	Male	$\bar{X}$ = 2.24 SD = .87	$\bar{X}$ = 2.11 SD = .90	$\bar{X}$ = 2.18 SD = .79
	Female	$\bar{X}$ = 1.93 SD = .74	$\bar{X}$ = 1.97 SD = .91	$\bar{X}$ = 1.95 SD = .83

(Ratings were made on a 5 point scale. The lower the rating, the more favorable it is.)

and standard deviations for occupation and sex of incumbent, respectively.) Thus, the results of this study supported the existence of isolation.

Degradation Study

Table 10 presents the summary of ANOVA results. Only sex composition of the group reliably affected desirability for group membership and group leadership. That is, both males and females showed increasing preference for membership in and leadership of groups as the proportion of males in the group increased. Thus the results of the third study supported the existence of degradation, or the decline in prestige and social desirability a group may suffer as female participation in the group increases.

Another finding of the study is illustrated in Figure 1 which presents the cell means. It appears from the figure, that when the sex of the previous chairperson was the same as the subject's, the subject preferred membership and leadership more than if the previous chairperson was of the opposite sex. This same sex modelling phenomenon approached statistical reliability ($F=2.47$, $p=.10$).

The same sex modelling phenomenon appeared especially important for males if the committee members were of the opposite sex (see Figure 1). This leads to the speculation that males assigned some probability to their own chances of ascendance to group leadership. When an all female group was previously chaired by a male, male subjects appeared highly motivated for membership and leadership. However, if the same group was previously chaired by a female, males rejected the group--perhaps inferring a "tradition" of female leadership. Although this effect was observed only among males, the sex of group by sex of chairperson interaction approached statistical reliability ($F=2.66$, $p=.10$).

Table 10

Summary of ANOVA Results

Degradation Study

Source	SS	df	MS	F
Sex of Subject	4	1	4	.76
Sex of Group	44	2	22	4.18*
Sex of Chairperson	0	1	0	0.00
Sex of Subject X Sex of Group	10	2	5	.95
Sex of Subject X Sex of Chairperson	13	1	13	2.47[a]
Sex of Group X Sex of Chairperson	28	2	14	2.66[a]
Sex of Subject X Sex of Group X Sex of Chairperson	6	2	3	.57
Within Cell	758	144	5.26	
Total	863	155		

*Significant at p = .05

[a]approaches significance at p = .10

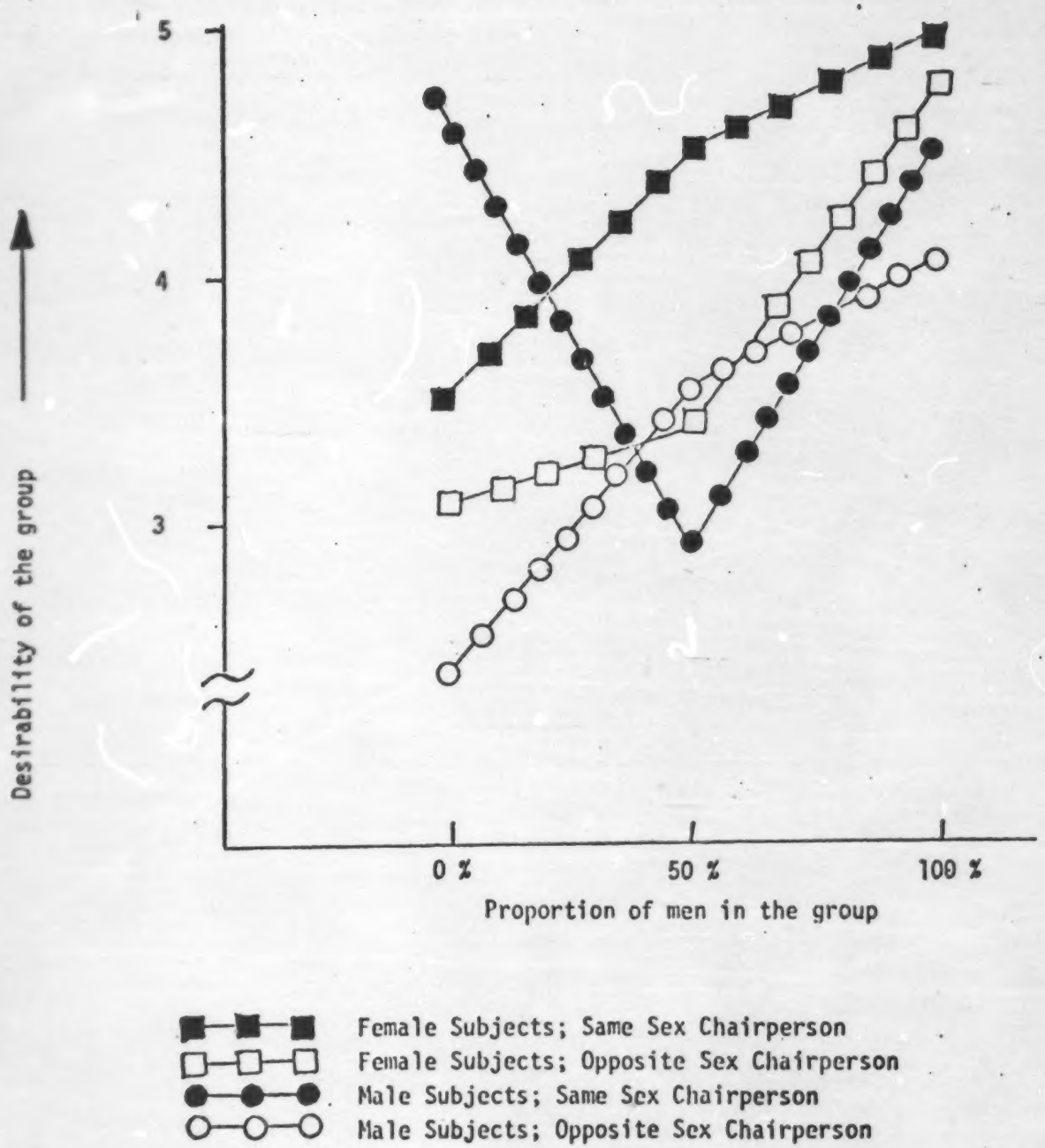
5
4
3
Desirability of the group
0 %
50 %
100 %
Proportion of men in the group
Female Subjects; Same Sex Chairperson
Female Subjects; Opposite Sex Chairperson
Male Subjects; Same Sex Chairperson
Male Subjects; Opposite Sex Chairperson

Figure 1

CONCLUSIONS

The data supported two of the three coping strategies postulated as alternatives to attitude change, namely, isolation and degradation. The first alternate coping strategy, derogation, was not directly supported by the data since there were no sex-contingent differences in the evaluations of individual performance. Rather, actual performance was the only factor which reliably affected evaluations of performance for individuals. Interestingly, the only factor which reliably affected ratings of group performance was the sex of the chairperson. Specifically, female-led groups were evaluated more favorably than the same groups when they were led by males. Since there were no significant sex differences in the individual ratings of the committee members or the committee chairpersons, one may speculate that the subjects may have perceived the female-led groups as somehow disadvantaged by the female leadership and hence deserving of more favorable evaluations. Thus, female chairpersons may have been devalued or derogated indirectly, if not directly.

Generalizability of the Coping Strategies

The coping strategies have been discussed and tested in terms of women entering nontraditional occupational roles. However, the same coping strategies may apply equally well to the other minorities in a variety of social settings other than organizations. For example, the coping strategies may account for the phenomenon "blockbusting," or the decline of property values and the mass exit of white families that may occur when black families move into a previously all-white neighborhood.

Members of an all-white community may easily derogate ghetto blacks and blacks, in general from a distance. That is, whites may assign sole responsibility for the plight of blacks to the blacks themselves by

selectively attending to the stimulus cues. For example, whites may rationalize that laziness (not hopelessness or poverty) accounts for the poor housing standards that many blacks may be accustomed to. From a distance, it may be a simple matter to devalue the efforts or the capabilities of many blacks.

Derogation may become more difficult if a black family moves into an all-white neighborhood. The white residents may hold their breath in anticipation, only to find that nothing drastic happens. Life continues as usual. There is no sudden surge of crime. The new black family may even maintain their property better than many of the other residents in the area. The neighbors may then rationalize by isolating the black family. "Truly these are not typical blacks. They are much different--much better--than the majority of blacks."

A different picture may emerge if four, five or six additional black families move into the previously all-white neighborhood. The area may no longer be considered (by whites, at least) a desirable place to live. Property values may decline. Homeowners might sell their houses at a loss to move to a "safe" neighborhood. If property values decline, lower income families may move into the neighborhood. While these families may be able to afford the lower cost of the houses, they may not be able to afford elaborate maintenance expenditures. As a result, property values might decline further. There are numerous examples of neighborhoods in many of the larger cities (e.g., Detroit, New York, Washington D.C., etc.) which have suffered such degradation.

The intent of this discussion was obviously not to justify the phenomenon "blockbusting." Rather, the intent was to illustrate the dynamics which may be involved in less than optimally successful integration attempts.

Delineating the parameters which may be involved in the integration process may provide insight f.. future research, which in turn, may lead to the realization of smoother and more successful integrations in the future.

Directions for Future Research

Future research might well focus on personality variables (e.g., cognitive complexity, previous learning history, etc.) and situational factors which may mediate selection of the different coping strategies.

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